1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

former expedition. She said, "Show it to me so that I may cry over it." On another occasion, when I asked a woman to describe a certain feast, she wept bitterly because a relative of hers, who had taken part in it, had died afterward.

The Tahitian greeting, *ia-o-rana*, is the usual form used by the natives, though occasionally they resort to Spanish or English expressions. However, they remember the old native terms and jokingly readopted them in my presence. In former times a visitor was received with a strongly modulated *K(a) oho mai* (Come), sometimes augmented with *repa* or *uka rivariva* (good-looking young man or young girl). When several people came together, the sentence was: *K(a) oho mai korua, ko oou* [or *toou*] *mahingo* (Come, you and your family) and the answer was simply *Ko koe a* (Yourself). When leaving a house the formula was: *Ka noho korua* (You stay).

In Geiseler's time the natives had not yet dropped their traditional greetings (87, p. 27):

> The salutations are lively. At a distance they shout "Kohomai" and then shake hands with the kindest expressions. Some utter a shy "Morning", and are proud to salute thus the Europeans. The form of their salutations differs according to whether they are addressing a European, a friend, or a relative. Relatives and friends are received with the expression: "Aue hoa e kohomai koe." These who are addressed by these words repeat them. Relatives and friends are received with the expression, "Aue hoa e k(a) oho mai [Alas, my friend, come]." Those thus addressed repeat the words. To Europeans they say, "K(a) oho mai (Come)" or "Koe e te tangata hiva e [You, O stranger]" and shake hands. Parents usually salute their children with "Aue poki" or "Aue potu e [Alas, small one]" or "Aue tauku [probably taaku] a te [Alas, you the mine]."
>
> The giving of a greeting is the general custom, and even people who pass at a distance shout "K(a) oho mai" to each other. The parting expression is "Ka ea mai [Go]."
>
> Their salutation, except that used with children, consists of bowing, shaking hands, and friendly gestures. Thus they give expression to their kind sentiments.

In speaking of a salutation, the natives use the term *aroha (ka aroha)*.

A returning native who had been absent from the island for two years was stoned by the natives when he was about to land. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 121) gives as the reason for this extraordinary reception the fear felt by the natives that they had seen a ghost and not a living person. The native's wife saved him from further injuries by swimming to the canoe and embracing him. "Shouting with all her energy she finally convinced the aggressors that he was not a ghost but a living reality." The interpretation of the missionary may be correct, but this kind of reception is not foreign to other Polynesians. People who return to their country after a long absence are often threatened by their relatives, who feign violence to show them how much they were missed. This apparently hostile attitude honors the returning person, making him responsible for the deaths or other misfortunes which happened during his absence. The formal reception of an honored guest is recorded by Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 235) who paid a visit to the

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

576 chief of Hotu-iti. Men had been posted at distances along the way followed by the missionaries. All had badges on their heads or on their arms. Each group received the guests with cheers and joined the retinue, marching behind the missionaries. Among this escort were two men who walked in front bearing two European swords. When they arrived where the chief was standing, the guests were received with the formula *Ka oho mai korua* (You come) and invited to sit on beautiful stones. A stone seat was given to the young king who had accompanied the missionaries.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

423 All information about property rights of ancient times is summarized in a few passages by Roussel (190, p. 429):

> In more recent times, property has been less respected; the land belonging to the first occupant. Formerly, every family owned the land that either hereditary, compulsory, or voluntary occupation put into its hands. Property was not valued because of the great expanse of uncultivated lands and the absence of purchasers. The dishonesty of the natives, their continual changing of residence, resulting from their constant wars, have created the most confusing and entangled situation in matter of property. So if you intend to buy land, you have—I do not want to say always, because there are exceptions—to buy the lands from all the individuals on the place in order not to cheat somebody. If you add to this entanglement the difficulty arising from the orphans who are very numerous, you will have an idea of the property system on Rapa-nui. [As on other Polynesian islands] the sea contiguous to an estate belonged to the owner of this estate. He was the only one who was authorized to fish, to look for squid and shellfish there. For his protection he placed a *rahui*.

[736]

[613] I could get scant information about ancient property rights. The ground belonging to a lineage was called *henua porcko ranga* (the land where the ancestors were born). Since 1866, when the entire population was concentrated at Hanga-roa on the west coast, the ties between lineages and land have been broken. Dutroux-Bornier, by unscrupulous tricks, bought from the natives most of their lands; through Brander, his rights passed to the Williamson-Balfour Company which now owns the island. I believe that the natives yielded their lands more readily because they had left them. However, they have remembered the portions of land of which their families were the legitimate owners. Estella (79, pp. 122-126) has reproduced a letter of the so-called king Atamu Te Kena, wherein the king gives the exact boundaries of his estate at Hanga-piko. In the same document are listed the names of forty persons who were the owners of Hanga-piko, Mataveri, and Rano-kao. As an example of the accuracy with which old boundaries were traced, I translate a part of Estella's document which was destroyed later with the archives, in a fire ignited by the natives themselves:

> . . . The line goes from Hanga-piko to the stone Taiaa, from there passing through the middle of the said stone it extends to the stone Mataoti where there is a house. From the middle of this house the boundary reaches the mountain of the Mata, where

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

rial, printed or plain, for the women. Shoes are worn on only special occasions of ceremony, as, for example, during our visit. On their heads both sexes alike wear hats, the material of which is either bulrushes or long, slender leaves, torn into narrow strips, braided and then sewn together spirally. In making these they are far behind other islanders, the Tahitians more especially, attributable mainly, however, to the want of proper material rather than to the lack of intelligence.

Crimes of any sort, but especially the graver ones, are of great rarity, and murder, at the present day, unknown. Petty thieving is common, is considered a venial offense, and the injured party seeks redress by stealing in kind, if possible, but in any event, stealing from the thief. There are no punishments, so called. Mr. Salmon, who is guide, philosopher, and friend to these people, unites in his person (and being a giant in stature, he can well contain them) the duties of referee, arbiter, judge. They entertain the greatest respect for him; evince the utmost affection; look up to him as their master; go to him with all their troubles; refer to him all their disputes and grievances. His word is law, and his decisions final and undisputed.

There is a schoolhouse in which the people are taught from books translated into Rapa Nui language by the priests formerly here, and most of the natives can read and write. The functions of pedagogue are performed, after a fashion, by Pakomeo, the survivor of the Peruvian captives, who is also a preacher among them and conducts the services at the little church. The form of salutation on meeting is kohomai, "come to me." The reply, koe, which means "thou," you, yourself. In Tahiti, Society Islands, and Rarotonga it is, ia-ora-na, "may you live in God." In the Samoan group, kalofa, "love to you" and tofa, "may you sleep."

With regard to the burial rites, it may be stated that no particular respect is shown persons of rank while living; still less do they receive any special funeral ceremonies when dead. All are treated alike in this regard, on the principle, presumably, that death levels all. The period of mourning extends over three days, and the rites are simple enough. Nowadays the service of the church is usually invoked. The body is carried out of the house and removed to some distance, either in the open plain, or to one of the image platforms, or into a cave, where it is exposed to sun and air (incidentally, it may be mentioned, also to predatory rats and cats in a semiwild state, which roam the island in large numbers, the former especially) until either dry, decomposed, or partially devoured. In the caves the remains are then shoved into an out-of-the-way corner and walled in with loose stones. At the platforms they may be laid away under a gigantic prostrate stone image, or placed in an excavation, either in the face or floor of the platform, or simply put in a convenient spot and covered up with stones. On the plains a circular conical cairn, truncated at top, 6 to 8 feet high, and built of loose bowlders, is frequently erected over the remains. Often the bones